

Message Text

SECRET

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72

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 IO-14 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00

OMB-01 ACDE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 EB-11 DRC-01 /147 W

----- 081415

O P 082024Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2699

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 4107

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: GUIDANCE FOR PRESENT NEGOTIATING SESSION

REF: A) USNATO 2411; B) STATE 090116

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE CONTAINS SOME SUGGESTIONS WHICH MAY HELP GAIN NATO AGREEMENT TO AN INSTRUCTION TO THE AD HOC GROUP BASED ON THE PAPER TABLED BY AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD ON MAY 3 AND HELP ASSURE ADEQUATE FLEXIBILITY FOR ALLIED REPS IN VIENNA. END SUMMARY.

2. US MISSION PAPER WHOSE TEXT IS CONTAINED IN USNATO 2411 MAY PROVE EFFECTIVE VEHICLE FOR TIMELY NAC GUIDANCE TO AD HOC GROUP. HOWEVER, REPORT OF SECRET

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MAY 6 SPC MEETING IN USNATO 2479 AND COMMENTS TO US

OF AD HOC GROUP MEMBERS WHO HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED THIS TEXT THROUGH NATIONAL CHANNELS INDICATE THAT THERE IS SOME CONFUSION AMONG ALLIES AS TO WHAT TYPE OF ACTION IS INTENDED IN THE TEXT, NOW INCORPORATED IN SECTIONS II TO V OF THE I.S. DRAFT INSTRUCTION.

3. THIS CONFUSION IS UNDERSTANDABLE BECAUSE THE UNDERLYING DOCUMENT WAS FORMULATED AS AN INSTRUCTION TO US MBFR DELEGATION. AS SUCH, IT DID NOT NEED TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN WHAT COULD BE SAID NOW TO THE EAST AS AN INDUCEMENT TO EASTERN MOVEMENT, AND THE PRECISE FORMULATION OF SUCH POINTS IN AGREEMENT LANGUAGE. IN PRACTICE, THE LATTER PROCESS WOULD TAKE PLACE ONLY AT A CONSIDERABLY LATER STAGE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AFTER MANY POINTS OF SUBSTANCE HAD BEEN SETTLED. HOWEVER, THIS DISTINCTION IS NOT REFLECTED IN THE SECTIONS OF IS DRAFT INSTRUCTION TO AD HOC GROUP MENTIONED ABOVE, WHICH IN OUR VIEW GO INTO UNNECESSARY AND IN SOME CASES COUNTERPRODUCTIVE DETAIL WITH RESPECT TO POINTS INTENDED TO BE MADE TO EAST.

4. IN OUR VIEW, THE POINTS RAISED IN THESE SECTIONS OF IS DRAFT ARE IMPORTANT AND WOULD HAVE TO BE RESOLVED WITH EAST LATER. BUT THEY CONCERN ASPECTS OF THE SUBJECT MATTER WHICH WOULD BE TREATED DURING FORMULATION OF SPECIFIC PROVISIONS OF AN AGREEMENT OR ASSOCIATED DOCUMENTS. THEY ARE NOT NEEDED FOR THE POLITICAL POINTS THAT WE WISH AT THIS TIME TO MAKE TO THE SOVIETS.

5. WE BELIEVE INCLUSION OF DETAIL NOT NEEDED AT THIS TIME IN THE GENERALLY WORDED ORAL HINTS WHICH WE MIGHT BE MAKING TO EAST IN NEAR FUTURE MIGHT CAUSE DELAY IN REACHING NAC AGREEMENT ON THE GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP. MOREOVER, SOME OF THE POINTS IN SECTIONS II TO V ARE NOW DRAFTED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE GENERAL POINTS WE WISH TO MAKE TO THE SOVIETS CONTAIN CONDITIONS AND PROVISOS SUITABLE FOR INCLUSION IN SPECIFIC AGREEMENT LANGUAGE, BUT OUT OF PLACE IN THE PRESENT CONTEXT TO SUCH AN

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EXTENT THAT THE UNDERLYING POLITICAL MESSAGE MIGHT FAIL TO COME THROUGH, OR TO INDUCE THE SOVIETS TO MOVE.

6. TO MEET THESE POSSIBLE DIFFICULTIES, WE SUGGEST THAT THE FOLLOWING SENTENCES BE ADDED AT THE END OF THE TWO PARAGRAPHS OF THE I.S. PAPER ENTITLED CENTRAL OBJECTIVES, JUST PRIOR TO SECTIONS II TO V OF IS DRAFT.

BEGIN TEXT: IN ORALLY INDICATING TO THE EAST THEIR WILLINGNESS TO TAKE THESE STEPS, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD USE GENERAL LANGUAGE SINCE THE PURPOSE OF THEIR STATEMENTS AT THIS STAGE IS, BY ANSWERING CERTAIN QUESTIONS RAISED BY EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES, TO INDUCE THE EAST TO MOVE TOWARD ACCEPTING PHASING. WHILE KEEPING IN MIND CONDITIONS SET FORTH IN THE FIRST PART OF THIS INSTRUCTION AND AVOIDING STATEMENTS WHICH WOULD CONFLICT WITH THEM, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD POSTPONE SPECIFIC FORMULATIONS UNTIL ACTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS JUSTIFIES SUCH ACTION. END TEXT.

7. IN TRILATERAL DISCUSSION WITH UK AND FRG REPS ON MAY 8, WE INFORMALLY DEVELOPED POSSIBLE ALTERNATE LANGUAGE FOR THE OPERATIVE POINTS CONTAINED IN SECTIONS II TO V OF THE IS TEXT. THIS LANGUAGE REPRESENTS WHAT WE WOULD PROPOSE ACTUALLY TO USE WITH THE EAST IN INITIAL DISCUSSIONS. IT IS DRAFTED TO WORK AROUND MANY POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT IN THE PRESENT IS TEXT, IS TAILORED TO THE ACTUAL NEGOTIATING REQUIREMENTS IN VIENNA, AND OMITTS SOME OF THE PROVISOS AND CONDITIONS CONTAINED IN THE PRESENT IS DRAFT WHICH WE CONSIDER PREMATURE TO ADVANCE NOW. TEXT IS BELOW. UK AND FRG REPS ARE SENDING IT TO THEIR

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2700

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 4107

FROM US REP MBFR

CAPITALS AND NATO DELEGATIONS TO ILLUSTRATE WHAT ALLIES MIGHT SAY TO SOVIETS AND AS POTENTIAL FALLBACK LANGUAGE IN THE EVENT THAT CURRENT TEXT RUNS INTO DIFFULTIES. US DEL RECOMMENDS THAT WASHINGTON REQUEST USNATO TO KEEP THESE POINTS IN MIND IN FINALIZING NAC GUIDANCE AND SEEK TO AVOID LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD INHIBIT POSSIBILITY OF DOING SO.

8. IN ANY EVENT, WE HOPE FINAL VERSION OF GUIDANCE WILL BE SUCH AS TO GIVE MAXIMUM TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY TO AD HOC GROUP. AS MATTERS NOW STAND, WE WILL NEED TO BEGIN DRAWING ON NAC INSTRUCTIONS IN INFORMALS WITH EAST IN WEEK OF MAY 19 AT LATEST.

9. BEGIN TEXT OF POSSIBLE TALKING POINTS:

1. WITH REGARD TO EASTERN CONCERNS THAT WESTERN DIRECT
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PARTICIPANTS MIGHT INCREASE THEIR FORCES BETWEEN PHASES TO COMPENSATE FOR US WITHDRAWALS, THE ALLIES WOULD, IN THE CONTEXT OF A SATISFACTORY PHASE I AGREEMENT INCLUDING AGREEMENT ON THE CONCEPT OF A COMMON CEILING FOR GROUND FORCES, BE WILLING TO CONSIDER A COMMITMENT THAT NEITHER SIDE WOULD EXCEED THE OVERALL LEVEL OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER ON ITS SIDE RESULTING FROM PHASE I WITHDRAWALS IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE PHASE I AGREEMENT AND A PHASE II AGREEMENT OR A PERIOD OF FIVE YEARS, WHICHEVER IS SHORTER.

2. IN ANSWER TO EASTERN QUESTIONS AS TO WHEN PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS WOULD START, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES CAN STATE THAT, IN THE CONTEXT OF A SATISFACTORY PHASE I AGREEMENT INCLUDING AGREEMENT ON THE CONCEPT OF A COMMON CEILING FOR GROUND FORCES, THE FIXED PERIOD OF TIME THEY HAVE IN MIND WOULD CERTAINLY NOT BE LONGER THAN THE TIME IT WILL TAKE FOR PHASE I WITHDRAWALS TO BE COMPLETED.

3. IN ORDER TO MEET EASTERN CONCERNS THAT PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT NOT HAVE AN OUTCOME, THE ALLIES, IN THE CONTEXT OF A SATISFACTORY PHASE I AGREEMENT INCLUDING AGREEMENT ON THE CONCEPT OF A COMMON CEILING FOR GROUND FORCES, WOULD CONSIDER INCLUDING A PROVISION IN THE PHASE I AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE USSR TO TERMINATE THE AGREEMENT AFTER A FIXED PERIOD, FOR EXAMPLE FIVE YEARS, IF A PHASE II AGREEMENT HAD NOT BEEN

CONCLUDED BY THEN.

4. WITH REGARD TO EASTERN QUESTIONS WHETHER OTHER
ALLIED DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD REDUCE THEIR FORCES IN PHASE
II NEGOTIATIONS, THE ALLIES WOULD, IN THE CONTEXT OF A SATISFACTORY
PHASE I AGREEMENT, BE WILLING TO CONSIDER A COMMITMENT THAT THE
WESTERN CONTRIBUTION TO PHASE II REDUCTIONS TO THE AGREED COMMON
CEILING ON GROUND FORCES OF EACH SIDE WOULD INCLUDE REDUCTIONS
IN THE FORCES OF ALL NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS

END TEXT OF TALKING POINTS. HUMES

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